Terra Australis Incognita

Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library

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The Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library
University of Toronto

Terra Australis Incognita
An Exhibition about Australia to 1900

June 15 to September 16, 1988

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Cover design by Tom Reid. Detail of map from
William Dampier. *A new voyage round the word* (6th edition, 1717)

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INTRODUCTION

The Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library and the University of Toronto are pleased to salute the bicentenary of Australia with this exhibition. We are also pleased to acknowledge the contribution to our collections of a proud Australian Canadian, William Shelden.

William Shelden's family emigrated from England to Australia in 1850 and he was born in Melbourne in 1898. He served in the Australian Army during World War I, recording in a biographical sketch that, although his was a mounted unit, he was not allowed a horse until after the Armistice was signed. He then returned to Australia to study engineering. He moved to the United States in 1923 and to Toronto in 1926. He pursued careers in engineering, grand opera and the theatre and in later life made several television commercials. His principal hobby was book collecting and he assembled an outstanding library of Australiana. It consisted of some two thousand volumes and was acquired by the Fisher Library in 1982. This exhibition displays some highlights of this special collection. Alas, this tribute to William Shelden is posthumous: he died in December 1987.

Our motive in mounting this exhibition stems from our belief that the parallels between the history and culture of Australia and Canada are interesting and have not been adequately investigated by scholars. Book collectors have actively pursued both Canadiana and Australiana for over a century. The categories often overlap; the first editions of the accounts of Cook's three voyages being only one obvious example. The Exile Narratives, of course, provide a direct link between two British colonial nations whose historical and cultural developments, different as they are, exhibit striking and instructive similarities. The accounts of interior exploration (one is struck by the similarities of expeditions to the Arctic and the outback despite the extreme differences in climate), the influence of the development of agriculture, the significance of the railway, and the economic and social consequences of gold rushes are a few of the areas of common concern that might repay further investigation.

Literary parallels have received more attention, particularly recent poetry and fiction. It is difficult to think of a Canadian equivalent of *Robbery under arms* but obvious comparisons could be drawn between Banjo Paterson and Robert Service.

We hope this sampling of highlights from the Shelden Collection will stimulate academic imagination and foster development of the collection.

Richard Landon
Edna Hajnal
June 1988

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Case I: Exploration Before 1788

Ortelius, Abraham. *Theatrvm orbis terrarvm; opus nunc tertio ab ipso auctore recognitum; multisque locis castigatum & quam plurimis nouis tabulis atque commentarijs auctum.* Antverpiae: Auctoris aere & cura impressum absolutumque apud C. Plantinum, 1584.

This sixteenth-century atlas depicts the world as it was then known to Europeans. The early view of Australia shows it as part of the great unknown land in the south. Ortelius was a scholarly publisher and bookseller who collected maps by European cartographers and published them separately. In what is considered the first modern atlas, he brought together maps of uniform size and scholarly text in one volume. First issued in 1570 with fifty-three maps, this collection went through at least twenty-eight editions, during Ortelius's lifetime, each with a different number of maps. The maps are engraved and hand-coloured, usually by Anne Ortelius, his sister and partner. They are similar in decoration to the large contemporary wall maps which were fashionable in Dutch houses of this period.

Le Maire, Jacob. *Spieghel der avstralishe navigatie.* t'Amsterdam: By Michiel Colijn, 1622.

Jacob Le Maire, the Dutch navigator and explorer, was the son of Isaac Le Maire, the main financier of this historic voyage. This journal describes the finding of the Straits of Le Maire in 1616, a discovery which provided a short cut from the Atlantic to the Pacific and so to Australia and New Zealand. The Straits made it possible for ships to reach the East Indies without using the route on which the East India Company had the monopoly. The purpose of Le Maire's voyage was to extend trade for his father and the other rich merchants of Hoorn who hoped to break the East India Company's monopoly and to find the southern continent enthusiastically described by Don Pedro Fernandes de Queiros (or Quiros), a sixteenth-century Spanish navigator and explorer, in his *Relacion de vn memorial* (1610).

An Account of several late voyages & discoveries to the South and North; towards the Streights of Magellan, the South Seas, the vast tracts of land beyond Hollandia Nova, &c. London: Printed for Sam. Smith and Benj. Walford, 1694.

This book is important in the history of Australia because it provides one of the earliest English accounts of Abel Janszoon Tasman's voyage in 1642. During this voyage the Dutch explorer discovered Tasmania and New Zealand in his search for the southern continent. His *Account* is based on the journal he kept throughout. His instructions were set out in Frans Jacobszoon Visscher's *Memoir concerning the discovery of the South-land* (1642). The *Memoir,* referring to Le Maire and Schouten's discoveries, details the routes and course to be taken. Visscher was one of the best Dutch pilots of his time. Tasman did not find the south land but he helped to define its size by exploring the unknown Pacific. This aided Dampier in exploring the north coast of Australia, and Cook in exploring the Western Pacific. Tancred Robinson, an English naturalist and physician, probably edited Sir John Narborough's account of these voyages and wrote the introduction to the collection.

Dampier, William. *A new voyage round the world.* 6th edition corrected. London: Printed for James Knapton, 1717.

Dampier, an English explorer, hydrographer, privateer, and buccaneer, having voyaged to Newfoundland, the Dutch East Indies, West Indies, and the Philippines, joined a ship sailing to the Pacific. On January 6, 1633 the ship landed at New Holland as Australia was then called. Dampier's account, *Voyage round the world,* published after his return to England

in 1697, describes the first English landing in Australia and has the first description of its terrain:

> New Holland is a very large tract of land. It is not yet determined whether it is an island or a main continent; but I am certain that it joyns neither to Asia, Africa, nor America. This part of it that we saw is all low even land, with sandy banks against the sea, only the points are rocky, and so are some of the islands in this bay.

The book was so popular that four editions were issued in two years. Dampier then issued a second volume which resulted in his being asked to write a proposal for a voyage of exploration to the south seas. He suggested that the territory around Terra Australis be explored, and in 1698 he was appointed commander of the *Roebuck*. This account of his voyages was expanded to four volumes and published in many editions. It aroused English interest in exploration of the Pacific and resulted in England taking the lead in exploring that area.

Vallard, Nicolas. *The first map of Australia from Nicholas Vallard's Atlas, 1547, in the Library of Sir Thomas Phillipps, Bart. at Middle Hill, 1856.* [Middle Hill: Middle Hill Press, 1856]

Vallard was one of the most famous map makers of Dieppe where the French chart industry was centred until the middle of the sixteenth century. He based his map of Australia on contemporary Portuguese maps which showed it as a vast southern land. Vallard's manuscript atlas was later acquired by Talleyrand. When Talleyrand's library was sold, the atlas was bought by the British bibliophile, Sir Thomas Phillipps who had this map lithographed separately in colours. He described the atlas:

> Nicolas Vallard's *Atlas d'anciennes cartes [Le régime et gouvernement du soleil]* 1547 ... illuminated with paintings, in proper colours, of the inhabitants, & animals, & representations of customs in all parts of the World then known ... is the best contemporary pictorial description of those countries existing. It contains the first map made of Australia. The drawings are executed with extraordinary accuracy & Fidelity.

In 1924 Henry E. Huntingdon bought the atlas which is now in the Huntingdon Library.

Cases II and III: Cook's Voyages

James Cook, the most illustrious English sailor of the eighteenth century, served his apprenticeship in the Royal Navy by taking part in the Seven Years War and the capture of Quebec by James Wolfe. His hydrographical surveys of the St. Lawrence River and the coasts of Newfoundland and Nova Scotia were the best of their time and of considerable historical significance. In 1768 he was given command of the ship *Endeavour* and, together with a scientific party that included Sir Joseph Banks, set out on the first of three great circumnavigations of the world. Although the ostensible purposes of Cook's voyages were scientific they had great political significance, effectively establishing the European political configuration and influence that has lasted to the present time. The accounts of Cook's voyages also began the tradition of exhaustive publication, with books, maps and engravings, official and surreptitious, pouring from the presses. A whole new exotic world was presented, for the first time, to an eager and excited public. Cook was also the first sea captain to realize, and act upon, the importance of the health of the ship's crew. Remarkably few of his sailors perished on the voyages although he was himself killed by the natives of Hawaii.

Hawkesworth, John. *An account of the voyages undertaken by the order of His present Majesty for making discoveries in the southern hemisphere, and successively performed by Commodore Byron, Captain Wallis, Captain Carteret, and Captain Cook, in the Dolphin, the Swallow, and the Endeavour.* London: Printed for W. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1773.

Cook left Plymouth in the *Endeavour* on August 25th 1768. The stated purpose of the voyage was to observe the transit of the planet Venus from Tahiti in June 1769, but the real intent of the Admiralty was to discover whether the mythical "Great Southern Continent" existed and, if so, to claim its territory for Great Britain. After leaving Tahiti the *Endeavour* sailed westward and on October 8th 1769 Cook set foot in New Zealand, the first European to reach the island. Continuing west Cook reached the east coast of New Holland in April 1770, explored the land and named it New South Wales. The *Endeavour* returned to England on July 12th 1771.

John Hawkesworth, a professional man-of-letters, was engaged by Lord Sandwich, the first Lord of the Admiralty, to edit and revise the journals of Cook and the other captains for publication. These three profusely illustrated volumes are the result of the voyage and constitute its official account. The *Account* was greeted with a storm of criticism for its alleged inaccuracies and indecencies, but was very popular, with two editions published in 1773. The criticism seems to have hastened Hawkesworth's death. He died, perhaps from an overdose of opium, on November 16th 1773 aged 58 and "out of luck not to have died a twelvemonth ago," as Horace Walpole unkindly (and characteristically) expressed it.

The kangaroo, depicted in volume III, was named by the artist Sydney Parkinson in his unofficial account of 1773, it being his version of a native word. It was only one of a number of exotic animals to be introduced to the European consciousness.

"The great quantity of plants which Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander collected in this place induced me to give it the name of Botany Bay" wrote Cook on Saturday May 5th 1770. The good report of its location and prospects, which was quite misleading, made it the obvious point of landing for the First Fleet. The name would only later take on its familiar notoriety.

[Magra, James] *A journal of a voyage round the world, in His Majesty's ship Endeavour, in the years 1768, 1769, 1770, and 1771.* London: Printed for T. Becket and P.A. De Hondt, 1771.

Hawkesworth's official *Account* of the first voyage was not the first to appear before an eager public. It had been preceded by almost two years by an anonymous *Journal*, now thought to have been written by James Magra, one of the sailors on the *Endeavour*. It is thus the first printed account of the east coast of Australia. Botany Bay is here caled Sting-ray Bay, the name first given to it by Cook.

The *Journal* originally appeared with a dedication leaf to Banks and Solander but they evidently objected to this attempt to authenticate an unauthorized publication, and the leaf was removed from most copies. It is much shorter than Hawkesworth's *Account* (only 134 pages) but gives a complete chronicle of the voyage with quite detailed descriptions of the natives: "the inhabitants were intirely naked and black, but they differed from the negroes of Africa in having long strait hair instead of wool on their heads. On their breasts we observed nude figures of men, darts &c. done with a kind of white paint ..."

Captain Cook's florilegium; a selection of engravings from the drawings of plants collected by Joseph Banks and Daniel Solander on Captain Cook's first voyage to the islands of the Pacific, with accounts of the voyage by Wilfrid Blunt and of the botanical explorations and prints by William T. Stearn. [London]: Lion and Unicorn Press, 1973.

The naturalists Joseph Banks and Daniel Solander travelled with Cook on his first voyage, together with the artist, Sydney Parkinson. The latter died of fever and dysentery on January 26th 1771 and was buried at sea. The original drawings of plants were made into paintings, under the supervision of Banks, at the conclusion of the voyage, and engraved plates were produced. Although it was obviously intended that they be published, only a proof copy was pulled and the original plates, the drawings and specimens of the plants ended up in the British Museum of Natural History. In 1960 the Royal College of Art undertook to print a selection of images from the original copper-plates and after thirteen years, this stunning book appeared.

The richness of the impression of the plates means that colouring is unnecessary. After a lapse of two hundred years, Sir Joseph Banks (as he became) has been well served in the production of what was to have been his magnum opus.

Cook, James. *A voyage towards the South Pole, and round the world: performed in His Majesty's ships the Resolution and Adventure, in the years 1772, 1773, 1774, and 1775.* London: Printed for W. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1777.

Cook's second voyage, from July 13th 1772 to July 30th 1775 in the ships *Resolution* and *Adventure* was, historically, the most important. Using improved methods of calculating longitude and latitude, Cook cruised as far south as he was able and was the first to cross the Antarctic Circle. The great Southern Continent was finally proved not to exist. Cook visited New Zealand again and discovered or revisited New Caledonia, Palmerston Island, Easter Island, the Marquesas, the New Hebrides, Tonga, the South Sandwich Islands, South Georgia, and Norfolk Island.

Cook prepared the official account of this voyage himself, although it was preceded by a 1775 *Journal* by John Marra. He was excited by his discovery of Norfolk Island because of its pine trees, "a good deal like Quebec pine," and the flax plant. To any sailor these two plants meant masts and sails and it was long thought that the island would prove a natural place for re-fitting British ships. The pine proved not to be durable and the flax could not be woven properly; attempts to colonize Norfolk Island were unsuccessful and it became one of the most brutal of the penal colonies.

The accounts of Cook's voyages were liberally illustrated with portraits of the natives. Here the man and woman of New Caledonia give the appearance of illustrations for Rousseau's concept of the "noble savage". Cook took back to London a Polynesian named Omai, who captivated London society and was complimented by Dr. Johnson. In 1776 Omai returned to his Pacific isand and died in obscurity.

Cook, James. *The method taken for preserving the health of the crew of His Majesty's ship the Resolution during her late voyage round the world.* 1776. (Contained in *Philosophical transactions* of the Royal Society of London. 1776. Vol. 66, pt. 2, pp. 402-406).

It could be argued that Cook's greatest contribution to Britain's "ruling the waves" was his discovery of how to combat scurvy on long voyages. During the three years and eighteen days of the second voyage Cook lost four men, only one through illness and that not connected to scurvy. His account of the method was read to the Royal Society on November 30th 1776 by the President, Sir John Pringle (in the absence of Cook himself who had already sailed on the third voyage) and was awarded the Copley Medal. It appeared separately in two editions (1776 and 1777) and was included in the *Philosophical transactions* for 1776 and as an appendix to the account of the second voyage.

Cook begins, "As many gentlemen have expressed surprize at the uncommon good state of health which the crew of the *Resolution*, under my command, experienced during her late voyage," and goes on to describe his use of malt, "sour krout", broth, fresh vegetables, and the "rob" of lemons and oranges. He also emphasizes cleanliness, of both the ship and the sailors. The later use of limes as an antiscorbutic defined all British sailors as "limeys".

Cook, James. *A voyage to the Pacific Ocean; undertaken by the command of His Majesty, for making discoveries in the northern hemisphere, to determine the position and extent of the west side of North America, its distance from Asia, and the practicability of a northern passage to Europe, performed under the direction of Captains Cook, Clerke, and Gore, in His Majesty's ships the Resolution and Discovery, in the years 1776, 1777, 1778, 1779, and 1780.* London: Printed by W. and A. Strahan; for G. Nicol and T. Cadell, 1784.

Cook's third and final voyage, a search for the elusive North-West Passage, was the best equipped scientifically and its two ships, *Resolution* and *Discovery*, included among the officers many of the most famous navigators of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries: George Vancouver, William Bligh, James King, John Gore, Charles Clerke, and James Burney. The west coast of North America was mapped, the existence of a navigable northern passage was disproved, and Hawaii was discovered.

The *Discovery* called at Van Diemen's Land, where observations were made and portraits of the natives were taken by John Webber, the artist. Webber's romantic views of South Pacific islands were to become the common image of the South Seas for generations of Europeans.

The official account of the third voyage (preceded once again by a surreptitious *Journal*) was edited by James King and included a large atlas containing many of the maps and views.

James Cook was killed in a skirmish with the natives of Hawaii on February 14th 1779. The two ships arrived back in Engand on October 4th 1780.

Case IV: The First Fleet

Between January 18th and 20th 1788 the first shipload of officers and convicts disembarked in Botany Bay. The second and third fleets arrived in 1790 and 1791 respectively. The term "First Fleet" is often used to describe all three fleets. After 1791 the arrivals were so numerous that they were neither numbered nor named. Because the people in England were eager to read about the new colony, and the government was interested in making such information available, the journals, reports and other records were quickly published.

Arthur Phillip was the first Governor of New South Wales and the commander of the First Fleet of eleven ships with about seven hundred and seventy-five convicts and two hundred and twelve crew members. Phillip was a naval captain who had also served in the Portuguese navy. As soon as he was commissioned in 1786 as Governor of New South Wales, he began preparations for the long voyage and the establishment of the colony. That his preparations were thorough is shown by the fact that his expedition arrived safely as compared with the poorly planned Second Fleet. Phillip envisioned the colony as a free, not a penal, colony: "If fifty farmers were sent out with their families they would do more in one year in rendering this colony independent of the mother country, 'as to provisions', than a thousand convicts." Unfortunately, his efforts in this respect were thwarted, as were those of his

successors, by his superiors in London. One of Phillip's first duties was to read publicly the letters patent and the Act which is exhibited, giving him authority as governor, establishing the various courts, and setting up the new colony.

Great Britain. [*An act to enable His Majesty to establish a Court of Criminal Judicature on the Eastern Coast of New South Wales, and the parts adjacent.*] *Anno regni Georgii III. regis vicesimo septimo. At the Parliament begun and holden at Westminster, the eighteenth day of May, anno domini 1784, in the twenty-fourth year of the reign of our sovereign Lord George the Third ... and from thence continued by several prorogations, to the twenty-third day of January, 1787; being the fourth session of the sixteenth Parliament of Great Britain.* London: Printed by Charles Eyre and Andrew Strahan, 1787.

The Act established New South Wales as a penal colony, and provided for the appointment of a court with power to act more quickly than usual to sentence offenders to death or corporal punishment.

> And whereas His Majesty, by two several orders in Council, bearing date respectively on the sixth day of December, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-six, both judged fit, by and with the advice of His Privy Council, to declare and appoint the place to which certain offenders named in two lists to the said several orders in Council annexed, should be transported for the time or terms in their several sentences mentioned, to the Eastern Coast of New South Wales, or some one or other of the isands adjacent ...

Phillip, Arthur. *The voyage of Governor Phillip to Botany Bay with an account of the establishment of the colonies of Port Jackson & Norfolk Island. Compiled from authentic papers which have been obtained from the several departments, to which are added the journals of Lieu*^{ts} *Shortland, Watts, Ball, and Cap*^{t} *Marshall with an account of their new discoveries.* London: Printed for John Stockdale, 1789.

Considered the first detailed official account of the settlement and of the arrival of the First Fleet at Botany Bay, this work was issued in parts between July and November/December 1789. It was subsequently published in a one-volume edition, in a large paper edition, and in a two-volume edition. Probably compiled by an anonymous editor at Stockdale's, it describes events from the departure of the First Fleet, March 1787 until September 1788. The first map of Sydney Cove, displayed here, is engraved by John Hunter and drawn by William Dawes who were officers on the First Fleet. Hunter succeeded Phillip as governor and Dawes laid out the streets of Sydney.

Hunter, John. *An historical journal of the transactions at Port Jackson and Norfolk Island, with the discoveries which have been made in New South Wales and in the Southern Ocean, since the publication of Phillip's voyage. Compiled from the official papers; including the journals of Governors Phillip and King, and of Lieut. Ball; and the voyage from the first sailing of the Sirius in 1787, to the return of that ship's company to England in 1792.* London: Printed for John Stockdale, 1793.

Hunter was the second Governor of New South Wales and the second captain on the *Sirius*, one of the First Fleet vessels. Unfortunately the *Sirius* was wrecked off Norfolk Island in 1790 and Hunter had to return to England to face a court-martial. He was eventually exonerated. During his stay in England he prepared this journal for publication. He was appointed Governor of New South Wales in 1794, and returned there in 1795. In his *Journal*

he gives a full account of the exploration and settlement of Norfolk Island. In addition to engravings by Hunter, the *Journal* includes one by William Blake, "A Family of New South Wales," after a drawing by Phiip G. King, also a First Fleet officer.

Collins, David. *An account of the English colony in New South Wales, from its first settlement in January 1788, to August 1801, with remarks on the disposition, customs, manners, &c. of the native inhabitants of that country.* 2d edition. London: Printed by A. Strahan for T. Cadell and W. Davis, 1804.

Collins, before becoming the third governor of New South Wales, was judge advocate and secretary to Governor Phillip. His impartial report has been called the first history of New South Wales because of its informed and detailed account of the colony, its depiction of the aborigines, and its sections on natural history. One of the three coloured plates shows a splendid Maenura Superba (lyre bird) which is meticuously described:

> The bill of this bird, which has been denominated MAENURA SUPERBA, is straight, having the nostrils in the centre of the beak. The base of the upper mandible is furnished with hairs like feathers turning down; the upper mandible is at the base somewhat like that of the pigeon. The eye is a dark hazle, with a bare space around it. The throat and chin are of a dark rufous colour; the rest, with the body, of a dusky grey. The feathers on the rump are longer than those of the body, and more divided. The colour of the wings, which are concave, is dark rufous. The legs and claws are large in proportion to the bird, particularly the claws. The outward toe is connected with the middle one as far as the first joint. The tail is long, and composed of three different sorts of feathers, of which the upper side is of a dark grey, with ferruginous spots. The first two lower feathers, which are a little curved in two directions, are, beneath, of a pearly colour, enriched with several crescent spaces, of a rich rufous and black colour. The laminae are unwebbed, turned round toward the extremity, and ornamented with a black bar, the breadth of an inch, and fringed at the end. The shaft of the second, which is likewise long, is fringed with long hair-like filaments; and the third, which is also long and curved, is plumed on the inner side only, except at the extremity, where there are a few separated filaments of a dark grey colour.

Edited by Maria Collins, the author's wife, this second edition is abridged from the first edition of 1798 and its 1802 suppement.

Memoirs of George Barrington; from his birth in MDCCLV, to his last conviction at the Old Bailey, on Friday, the 17th of September, MDCCXC. London: Printed for M. Smith, 1790.

Barrington, George. *The history of New South Wales, including Botany Bay, Port Jackson, Parramatta, Sydney and all its dependancies from the original discovery of the island with the customs and manners of the natives and an account of the English colony from its foundation to the present time.* London: Printed for M. Jones, 1802.

Barrington, George. *An account of a voyage to New South Wales.* London: Printed for M. Jones, 1810.

George Barrington, an actor, often called the prince of pickpockets, was arrested, tried and acquitted in London so many times that accounts of his exploits and eloquent testimony were read as soon as they were published. In 1790, he was arrested, tried, convicted and sentenced to seven years 'transportation' to New South Wales for having robbed a man of a gold watch. Soon after his arrival at Botany Bay with the Third Fleet in 1791, his good

behaviour gained him conditional emancipation. He was later appointed superintendent of convicts but was forced to resign because of ill health.

It is doubtful whether Barrington wrote any of the three popular works shown or any of the other works attributed to him. It was said that his name on the title page of a chapbook would assure its sales. Readers who could not afford to buy the other accounts of the First Fleet and early settlement in New South Wales bought the cheap editions which he was thought to have written.

The author writes of the kangaroo: "This animal appears the most important in the country; its size is considerable, and it supplies both food and clothing, if an apron may be so called, to the inhabitants."

Cases V and VI
Exploration of the Continent

Flinders, Matthew. *A Voyage to Terra Australis; undertaken for the purpose of completing the discovery of that vast country, and prosecuted in the years 1801, 1802, and 1803, in His Majesty's ship the Investigator, and subsequently in the armed vessel Porpoise and Cumberland schooner.* London: Printed by W. Bulmer, and published by G. and W. Nicol, 1814.

"The publication in 1814 of a voyage commenced in 1801, and of which all the essential parts were concluded within three years, requires some explanation." Flinder's apology only hints at the difficulties of producing an account of the first circumnavigation of Australia; one of the truly monumental works of exploration. Although Flinders used the traditional name Terra Australis he was one of the first hydrographers to give preference to "Australia"; "as being more agreeable to the ear, and an assimilation to the names of the other portions of the earth."

The expedition of the *Investigator* was thoroughly planned; it included the botanist Robert Brown who later discovered the Brownian Movement of molecules, the painter Ferdinand Bauer, and the landscape artist William Westall. Some stimulus for the voyage was provided by the knowledge that a Napoleonic expedition under Nicolas Baudin had left France for the south in October 1800. Flinders was to encounter the expedition later in Encounter Bay.

During his three years of coastal surveying Flinders had five ships either founder or become so unseaworthy as to be unfit for service and once he was forced to navigate a cutter seven hundred miles to get assistance. His troubles had only begun, however, as the *Cumberland* was forced to stop at the French island of Mauritius, where Flinders was arrested and imprisoned for six and a half years. He finally arrived back in England in 1810, broken in health, and began to write up his account and prepare the detailed charts. Due to an error in the lunar tables with which he had been supplied the work had to be carefully revised, entailing further delay and a considerable personal expenditure by Flinders. It finally was published on July 18th 1814. Flinders died on July 19th.

This copy of *A Voyage* belonged to Ida Lee (Mrs. C.B. Marriott), an historical writer and poet descended from one of the first families to settle in New South Wales.

Clark, John Heaviside. *Field sports &c. &c. of the native inhabitants of New South Wales.* London: Published and sold by Edward Orme, 1813.

This first separately published account of the aborigines is also the earliest book with coloured plates of Australian scenes and one of the first sympathetic accounts of the

aborigines. The depiction of plants and animals is also accurate and precise. The plates were so popular that they were often reproduced in early books about Australia or were issued separately. The plate shown is one of ten coloured aquatints in this work. Clark, who wrote the text and engraved the pictures, was a London commercial artist who never visited Australia. He used sketches attributed to John William Lewin who is better known as a painter of natural history and birds.

Field, Barron, editor. *Geographical memoirs on New South Wales* by various hands. London: John Murray, 1825.

Field, a lawyer, author and a friend of Leigh Hunt and Charles Lamb, was the son of Henry Field, treasurer to the Apothecaries' Company. He was appointed judge in New South Wales in 1816 and took up his position there in 1817. In 1824 he returned to England where he edited this collection of early Australian scientific papers, and wrote some of the sections. His slim book of poetry, *First fruits of Australian poetry*, first published in 1819, is reprinted in this work as an appendix. The *Memoirs* also includes the only published accounts of Allan Cunningham's exploration to the Liverpool Plains, Captain Mark John Currie's excursion south from Lake George, and Field's trip across the Blue Mountains. The frontispiece showing Campbell River is by John William Lewin.

King, Phillip Parker. *Narrative of a survey of the intertropical and western coasts of Australia*. London: John Murray, 1827.

Phillip Parker King was born in 1791 on Norfolk Island where his father was the Lieutenant-Governor, and thus became the first Australian-born hydrographer. He entered the service of the navy in 1807 and reached the rank of lieutenant in 1814. In 1817 he was appointed by the Admiralty and the Colonial Office to "examine the hitherto unexplored Coasts of New South Wales (that is, those not charted by Flinders or Freycinet) ... as the chief motive for your survey is to discover whether there be any river on that part of the coast likely to lead to an interior navigation into this great continent." He was also instructed to plant vegetables "in the fittest situations, with a view not only to their preservation, but to their being within the observation and reach of succeeding navigators", presumably to establish claim to territory that the Admiralty could not be certain had been legally claimed by Great Britain.

King made four surveying voyages between 1817 and 1822 and then spent three years in England preparing the results for publication, the first of which was a series of eight charts issued by the Admiralty in 1824 and 1825. He then completed his *Narrative* before sailing to South America on another surveying voyage which lasted until 1830.

The *Narrative* first appeared in April 1826, but sales of it were so slow that John Murray, the publisher, re-issued the sheets in 1827 with a new title-leaf (and a new date), presenting it as a new publication. The first issue is a legendary rarity and the 1827 second issue is scarce.

King had been instructed to collect information of scientific and ethnographic interest and details of these collections are given in the appendices. He was an accomplished artist; thirteen of his aquatints of Australian scenery adorn the two volumes.

In 1832 King returned to New South Wales, where he became a farmer and entered politics. He died there in 1856.

Sturt, Charles. *Two expeditions into the interior of Southern Australia during the years 1828, 1829, 1830, and 1831; with observations on the soil, climate, and general resources to the colony of New South Wales*. 2d edition. London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1834.

Charles Sturt was born in 1795 in India where his father was a judge, but was educated in England. In 1817 he obtained a commission as ensign and served in Spain, Canada, France, and Ireland before being sent to New South Wales with part of his regiment in 1827. There Governor Darling of New South Wales appointed him military secretary and brigade major as well as his private secretary. Through friendships with explorers such as John Oxley, Hamilton Hume and Allan Cunningham his interest in the settlement grew, and in 1828 he was appointed to lead an expedition with Hume to trace the course of the Macquarie River. On the first expedition he discovered the Darling River and followed the courses of the Macquarie, Bogan and Castlereagh Rivers. On the second expedition he traced the Murrumbidgee and Murray Rivers to Lake Alexandrina and Encounter Bay on the Indian Ocean. These discoveries renewed English interest in Australian geography and exploration.

The first publication of Sturt's accounts in 1833, with his own illustrations, did much to encourage settlement in South Australia:

> Australia is properly speaking an island, but it is so much larger than every other island on the face of the globe, that it is classed as a continent, in order to convey to the mind a just idea of its magnitude. Stretching from the 115th to 153d degree of east longitude, and from the 10th to the 37th of south latitude, it averages 2700 miles in length by 1800 in breadth; and, balanced, as it were, upon the tropic of the hemisphere in which it is situated, it receives the fiery heat of the equator at one extremity, while it enjoys the refreshing coolness of the temperate zone at the other.

Mitchell, Sir Thomas Livingstone. *Three expeditions into the interior of eastern Australia with descriptions of the recently explored region of Australia Felix, and of the present colony of New South Wales.* London: T. & W. Boone, 1838.

Mitchell, the Surveyor General of New South Wales, made four expeditions during the epic period of interior exploration. Motivated to a considerable extent by his dislike of Sturt and later of Leichhardt, he usually ignored his orders and failed to achieve the objectives of his expeditions.

In 1835 Governor Burke instructed Mitchell to trace the full course of the Darling River. Mitchell failed in his endeavour and was sent out again in 1836 to complete the task. Instead he journeyed down the Murray River to its junction with the Loddon and turned south overland. Here he stumbled across the rich lands of western Victoria which he named Australia Felix, his most significant discovery.

Back in London in 1837 Mitchell prepared his account which was published by Thomas and William Boone, the first in a great series of Australian exploration accounts issued by this firm. *Three expeditions* was attractively illustrated with lithographic plates from sketches made by Mitchell, himself an accomplished artist. He also pressed his claims for the award of a knighthood, an ambition realized in 1839.

Sturt, Charles. *Narrative of an expedition into Central Australia ... during the years 1844, 5, and 6.* London: T. and W. Boone, 1849.

In 1835 Sturt returned to Australia as a settler, having applied for and received a grant of five thousand acres in South Australia. The drought between 1836 and 1839, however, prompted him to accept the post of Surveyor-General offered to him by Governor Gawler. Sturt sold his land and moved to Adelaide, but before the announcement of his appointment reached England, the Colonial Office had appointed Lieutenant Frome. Gawler then appointed Sturt as assistant Surveyor General. In 1843 Sturt proposed an expedition to complete the discovery of the unknown continent, and to find the unknown sea. The Colonial Office agreed in

1844 to his carrying out a more modest expedition, the first into the interior. Accompanying him was John McDougall Stuart as draughtsman who is credited with having been the first to lead an expedition on a return south-north trek across the continent. On this expedition, Sturt explored Cooper's Creek, the Stoney Desert and Simpson Desert, although he was unable to cross the last. Most of the three thousand miles that he travelled was unknown territory. In addition to the explorations noted, he determined the confluence of the Murray and Darling Rivers, and found that there was no central dividing range and no large inland sea.

After returning to England in 1847, where he was awarded the gold medal of the Royal Geographical Society, Sturt published this narrative. Its illustrations include four hand-coloured plates by John Gould, one of which is shown. Gould also contributed an appendix on natural history, and Robert Brown, an appendix on botany.

Bunce, Daniel. *Travels with Dr. Leichhardt in Australia*, by the author of *Hortus Tasmaniensis* ... Mebourne: Fairfax, 1849.

Ludwig Leichhardt, the most romantic of the explorers of the interior of Australia and the only one to disappear without a trace, was a German scientist who arrived in Sydney in 1842. He wished to participate in Mitchell's overland expedition but a long delay made him impatient and, raising his own funds through private subscription, he left Darling Downs in September 1844 with nine companions. Fourteen months and over three thousand miles later the party arrived in Port Essington, in the extreme north, having been given up for lost. Leichhardt had discovered and named numerous mountain ranges and rivers and had opened up vast and valuable pasture land. He was treated as a national hero.

Bunce's *Travels* is an account of Leichhardt's second expedition, an unsuccessful attempt to cross the continent to the west coast beginning in December 1846 and abandoned six months later. Bunce was a member of the party and wrote his chatty account, first called *Australasiatic reminiscences*, ten years after the event.

Leichhardt, after a short third expedition up the Condamine River, set off on his final attempt to reach the Swan River settlement overland. He left MacPherson's Station on the Darling Downs early in April 1848 with six companions and was never seen again. Because he had announced that the journey would take at least two years, three years passed before any attempt was made to search for the missing party. All attempts to ascertain what happened to Leichhardt have been in vain and his fate remains a mystery.

MacGillivray, John. *Narrative of the voyage of H.M.S. Rattlesnake, commanded by the late Captain Owen Stanley ... during the years 1846-1850, including discoveries and surveys in New Guinea, the Louisiade Archipelago, etc.* London: T. & W. Boone, 1852.

John MacGillivray was the naturalist on the *Rattlesnake*, a ship commissioned to complete a hydrographical survey of the Torres Strait and the approaches to it through the Great Barrier Reef. The Captain, Owen Stanley, was instructed to "lose no fair opportunity of verifying the positions – of multiplying the soundings – and of improving the smaller details of the coast as laid down by Capt. P. P. King in his excellent Survey ..." Stanley, who had previously served the Admiralty in the Canadian Arctic, died in March 1850 in Sydney.

This *Narrative* is illustrated with thirteen lithographs taken from drawings by T. H. Huxley, the Assistant Surgeon on the voyage. Huxley, twenty-one years old and only recently qualified as a doctor, seized the opportunity of this appointment to further his study of animals and sent two papers to the Linnean Society on the hydrozoa and medusae. These gained him his first biological recognition and he was elected F.R.S. in 1851. His illustrations of Australian scenery demonstrate his considerable artistic abilities.

MacGillivray sailed on another surveying voyage in 1852 but left the ship in Sydney in 1855 and spent the rest of his life exploring the islands of Australasia and studying the habits of the aboriginals. He died in 1867.

The *Narrative* is also important because it contains an account of the tragic expedition of Edmund Kennedy to explore the Cape York Peninsula in 1848. It was written by William Carron, "one of the survivors of the expedition" and although published separately in Sydney in 1849 and in Fressingfield, Suffolk in 1859, it is only readily accessible in MacGillivray's work because of the great rarity of these other editions. The *Narrative* is itself a scarce book.

Wills, William John. *A successful exploration through the interior of Australia from Melbourne to the Gulf of Carpentaria from the journals and letters of William John Wills.* Edited by his father William Wills. London: Richard Bentey, 1863.

The Burke and Wills expedition, famed in song and story, was the most outstanding disaster in the history of Australian exploration. Setting out from Melbourne on August 20th 1860, the fifteen men with twenty-three horses and twenty-seven camels soon became separated, lost and confused. Burke, with only Wills and two other companions, walked from Cooper's Creek fifteen hundred miles to the Gulf of Carpentaria and back, one of the men succumbing to the harsh pace. The supplies for the party having failed to arrive, the three remaining members attempted to reach Mount Hopeless and, failing to do so, were forced to return to their depot. Here Burke and Wills starved to death before a rescue party arrived in September 1861.

The circumstances of their death made Burke and Wills national heroes and accounts of the expedition appeared immediately in newspapers and pamphlets in Melbourne. The first substantial account appeared in London in 1863, edited from Wills's journals and letters by his father. Its title, *A successful exploration*, seems richly ironic. The mourning father was at pains to demonstrate "how much can be accomplished in a few years, when habits of prudence and industry have been acquired in early youth."

Davis, John. *Tracks of McKinlay and party across Australia. Edited from Mr. Davis's manuscript journal; with an introductory view of the recent Australian explorations of McDouall Stuart, Burke and Wills, Landsborough, etc., by William Westgarth.* London: Sampson Low, Son, & Co., 1863.

A relief expediton under John McKinlay was organized by the South Australian Government in 1861 to search for Robert O'Hara Burke. After finding the grave of one of the men, and learning that Burke, Wills and Grey were dead, McKinlay proceeded to explore the northern part of the country. John Davis was a member of the expedition. The journal lacks the scientific accounts and observations found in other journals, partly because few of the larger animals and birds were found in the interior.

"Our Little Canvas Camp Flying in all Directions" is one of the fourteen lithograph illustrations in the rambling account of an expedition into the northern interior.

> October 28th. Our party off for another look at the settled districts; they go with twelve pack-horses and four saddle, sixteen in all. The weather very sultry and close. Mr. McKinlay says there will be a storm. About 7 P.M., it was as black as midnight; at 9 P.M. a regular westerly gale. All hands turned out; but our little canvas camp was soon flying in all directions. The tents we tried to peg down as fast as a peg drew, but all to no use, they were soon blown down; then came lightning and thunder, and during the flashes could be descried hats, trousers, gaiters, shirts, taking their private airing by themselves, and McKinlay holding on by his

> tent-pole, 'There goes my trousers!' 'There goes my hat!' sings out another, and so on. Had I the pencil of 'Crowquill,' or the world-known 'George,' I might scratch that scene; and although shivering with cold and wet we could not help laughing, the picture was too ludicrous. It soon came to an end, then we tried to settle ourselves somehow or other, but, oh, so wet!

Case VII: Colonization

Lang, John Dunmore. *An historical and statistical account of New South Wales both as a penal and as a British colony.* London: Cochrane and M'Crone, 1834.

Lang, a politician and clergyman, emigrated to Australia in 1823 to found a Presbyterian church in Sydney, where he served as minister for more than fifty years. He also founded the Australian College, served as a legislative representative for Port Phillip (agitating for separation from New South Wales, which was achieved in 1851), and was active in promoting immigration to Australia. Of the many books that he wrote, the *Account* is considered the most important. It had four editions during his lifetime, of which the last was in 1875. The detailed map shown gives not only place names, but distances, type of land (level, grassy, wooded), river sources, and other information likely to be of interest and importance to settlers.

> My object in the work has been threefold: 1st, To afford the reader a correct idea of the history, the tendency and the working of the Transportation system as it regards the Australian colonies; 2nd, To exhibit a faithful representation of the present state of the colony of New South Wales in particular; and 3rd, To promote the best interests of that colony, by promoting the emigration of reputable families and individuals to its territory, and by pointing out to the authorities at home the line of policy which it is expedient to pursue, for the future, to secure its general welfare and its rapid advancement.

Irwin, Frederick Chidley. *The state and position of Western Australia, commonly called the Swan-River Settlement.* London: Simpkin, Marshal, 1835.

Irwin joined the British Army in 1808, but little is known about him until he was sent to Western Australia in 1829, soon after it became a separate colony. After spending four years there as the commander of a detachment of the 63d regiment, he returned to England where he promoted the interests of the colony, helped to found the Western Australian Association, and published this book. It is considered the first account of the new colony. In 1836 he returned as commander of the army garrison, becoming Governor in 1847. He presented this copy to his niece.

Cobbold, Richard. *The history of Margaret Catchpole.* London: H. Colburn, 1845.

Margaret Catchpole was born in 1773 in Suffolk. She fell in love with a boatman and, when forbidden by her family to see him, stole a horse and rode the seventy miles from Ipswich to London disguised as a sailor. She was tried for theft and sentenced to death on August 9th 1797, a sentence commuted to seven years transportation through the intervention of John Cobbold, a brewer. The undaunted Margaret made a daring escape from Ipswich Gaol on March 29th 1800 and rejoined her lover, but was soon re-captured and again sentenced to death by the same magistrate. This time the sentence was commuted to transportation for life and she sailed to Botany Bay in 1801. Her conduct in the penal colony was so exemplary that she gained a remission of much of her sentence, married a respectable settler near Hawkesberry, and inherited his estate in 1827. The reformed Margaret moved to Sydney where she led a quiet, religious life unti her death in 1841.

All our knowledge of Margaret Catchpole is based on the three volume *History* published in 1845 by the Rev. Richard Cobbold, the son of her former benefactor. Although he states that "the public may depend upon the truth of the main features of this narrative" he obviously embellished it a good deal with fictitious adornments and turned it into a typical three-decker novel. Its purpose was made clear: "it is hoped that an instructive lesson may be conveyed by it to many, who may not yet have seen the necessity of early and religious instruction." It also could be used as an example of the efficacy of the penal system of transportation; a Botany Bay success story ironically published when the system was about to be abolished.

Bonwick, James. *Discovery and settlement of Port Phillip, being a history of the country now called Victoria, up to the arrival of Mr. Superintendent Latrobe, in October, 1839.* Revised by W. Westgarth. Melbourne: George Robertson, 1856.

The accounts of coastal exploration and discovery and the narratives of expeditions into the interior of the continent were supplemented by historical works, often localized, which presented a chronological sequence of events and some interpretation of them. The most prolific of these historical writers was James Bonwick (1817-1906).

Bonwick was born in London, and went to Hobart in 1841 to teach at the Normal School. He moved to Victoria in 1852, worked in the gold fields, published a magazine, became a school inspector, established a school near Melbourne, and finally retired to England.

In his first historical work, *Discovery and settlement of Port Phillip,* Bonwick attempted to trace the history of this territory from Cook's sighting of Point Hicks in 1770 to Latrobe's appointment in 1839. Bonwick remarks that "in the dearth of written authorities the materials had to be principally procured from oral testimony" and thus much of the historical fact of his work has been subject to revision. Indeed, the revision began before the book appeared, Bonwick having asked William Westgarth, a Victoria merchant and fellow historian to read through it and correct its faults. This copy of *Discovery* bears the presentation inscription: "Esther Anne Bonwick A Birthday Present from her loving Papa. Boroondara, Victoria August 28th 1857."

Lang, John Dunmore. *Queensland, Australia, a highly eligible field for emigration and the future cotton-field of Great Britain: with a disquisition on the origin, mannners, and customs of the aborigines.* 2d edition. London: E. Stanford, 1864.

In December 1859 Queensland became a separate colony. The map displayed shows the size of the new colony as well as place names, boundaries, mountain ranges, dates of discovery or settlement, and natural conditions. Lang, who was influential in having this territory made into a separate colony, worked hard to attract immigrants from England so that it would not be made into another penal settlement. He wrote this book "to point out to the British public the highly eligible field which the new colony of Queensland presents, under the liberal and enlightened arrangements of the Local Government, for the emigration and settlement of thousands and tens of thousands of the industrious classes of Great Britain and Ireland ..."

Case VIII: The Exile Narratives

> You, Benjamin Wait, shall be taken from the court to the place from whence you last came, and there remain until the 25th of August, when, between the hours of 11 and 1, you shall be drawn on a hurdle to the place of execution, and there hanged by the neck, until you are dead, and your body shall be quartered. The Lord have mercy on your soul!!!

Thus Benjamin Wait, a Patriot of the Upper Canada Rebellion, recorded the sentence passed upon him on August 11th 1838 in a letter written from Ashgrove, near Oatlands, in Van Diemen's Land during April 1840. It is contained in his *Letters from Van Dieman's Land, written during four years imprisonment for political offences committed in Upper Canada,* published in Buffalo in 1843. This is the first of the so-called Exile Narratives, a series of books recording the experiences of nine political exiles (seven written in English and two in French) who were transported to Van Diemen's Land and New South Wales for treasonous acts committed against the crown of Great Britain during the rebellions in Upper and Lower Canada of 1837 and 1838.

The British colonial administrators, including the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir George Arthur, fresh from thirteen years as the Governor of the penal colony in Van Diemen's Land, viewed the actions of the rebels as the treasonous incursions of American agitators (although Wait was born in Canada) into an established Canadian political system in Upper Canada and, in Lower Canada, as an exploitation of a disaffected and ignorant French population. The patriots, however, saw themselves as part of a struggle for liberty, progress, and justice that they engaged in for idealistic reasons. Thus they objected strenuously to being treated like common criminals, with whom they were, of course, lumped together in the penal colonies of Australia. From one point of view they were treated quite leniently: of the few thousand who participated in both rebellions twenty-nine were executed, eight were transported to Bermuda and 177 to Australia. All had been given full pardons by 1845.

Wait, Benjamin. *Letters from Van Dieman's Land, written during four years imprisonment for political offences committed in Upper Canada.* Buffao: A.W. Wilgus, 1843.

Benjamin Wait's sentence of death was commuted to transportation for life through the efforts of his wife, Maria, and the direct intercession of the Governor-General, Lord Durham. The respite arrived at noon of the day the execution was to have taken place. He was then, in company with thirty-three other prisoners, taken to Quebec and thence to Liverpool in the hold of a lumber vessel. After some months in the hulk of the ship *York* at Portsmouth, Wait was put on the *Marquis of Hastings*, a contracted transport, and taken to Hobart Town. A good portion of his letters chronicle in detail the appalling conditions on the ship; of 240 convicts on the *Marquis of Hastings* only 103 were still alive one year after the voyage. Wait secured a ticket-of-leave in August 1841 (again because of the vigorous representations of his wife to government officials) which allowed him some freedom of movement within the penal colony. He managed to escape in a small boat in late December of the same year. After drifting at sea for thirteen days he was picked up by an American whaler, which was shipwrecked off the coast of Brazil, and finally was re-united with his faithful spouse in Niagara Falls. Ironically Wait received a pardon in March 1842. Maria died in May 1843 but Benjamin outlived most of his enemies and his compatriots and died a prominent citizen of Grand Rapids, Michigan in 1895.

Wright, Stephen S. *Narrative and recollections of Van Dieman's Land.* New York: J. Winchester, New World Press [1844]

Wright's *Narrative and recollections of Van Dieman's Land* was published in New York in 1844 and vividly describes the reception accorded the exiles by Sir John Franklin, the Governor. They were paraded before him in the black and yellow prisoner's jacket and pantaloons, with leather cap and shoes, which were not replaced when they soon wore out. Sir John, described as "a *bon vivant*, without any strong marks, save obesity and imbecility" made a little speech admonishing them to behave themselves and set them to work building roads. Most of the exiles speak kindly, if slightingly, of Franklin in comparison to his predecessor, Sir George Arthur, who is consistently portrayed as the "bloody executioner". He was reputed to have signed the death warrants for fifteen hundred persons. According to Wait, who was frequently quoted by Wright, Arthur was fond of hangings as an accompaniment to his breakfast. "These ... executions took place on a scaffold he had erected in sight of his own dwelling; and, oh! what a sumptuous treat it must have been for his hateful soul, as he took his morning airing upon his piazza, to have gloated upon those distorted bodies as they hung suspended from the 'lofty gallows' for the whole day, a spectacle for every eye." Arthur was also accused of virtually eliminating the natives of Tasmania and when he was recalled from his tenure of office ten days of celebrations were observed.

Ducharme, Leon. *Journal d'un exile politique aux terres australes.* Montréal: Imprimé par F. Cinq-Mars, 1845.

In 1845 Leon Ducharme published this, the first of the French Canadian narratives, in Montreal. The fifty-eight prisoners from Lower Canada were sent to New South Wales, rather than Van Diemen's Land, although they narrowly escaped being incarcerated on Norfolk Island through the intercession of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Sydney, John Polding. They were held in the stockade at Longbottom and worked for the government on the Parramatta road for two years, eventually obtaining tickets-of-leave and finally pardons in 1844. Eventually all except three returned to Canada; two had died and one, Joseph Marceau remained in Australia and contributed a large number of descendants to the developing nation. The French Canadians were treated somewhat more leniently than their English counterparts. Ducharme records that his group had enough freedom to engage in a black market in shells, which they gathered at night and sold to boatmen for making lime. He became an overseer and was able to negotiate contracts for the exiles to be employed directly by government officials for wages. By these arrangements they were able to accumulate enough money to pay for their passage home, an important consideration as a pardon seemed an empty reward to an exile stranded in the colony with no money.

Miller, Linus W. *Notes of an exile to Van Dieman's Land.* Fredonia, N.Y.: Printed by W. McKinstry & Co, 1846.

Linus Miller was one of four prisoners to arrive on the convict ship *Canton* from Portsmouth. His vividly written account describes the convict system in considerable detail and his own attempt to escape the intolerable conditions by "taking the bush". Eluding the watchman and scaling the wall of the prison yard were easy: "Free! free from prison walls; free from British tyranny, for a season at least, and Hope whispered, falsely whispered, forever. Alas! alas! that sweet angel of mercy was luring us on to slavery, wretchedness and woe, incomparably greater than we had yet experienced." Once "free" the fugitives' problems had just begun. It was impossible to escape from Van Diemen's land, except by boat, and the interior of the island was most inhospitable. Part of the penal system established by Arthur operated on the principle of "set a thief to catch a thief" and thus the fugitives were hunted not only by the military authorities but also by their fellow convicts, the rewards for the betrayal being tickets-of-leave and pardons. Miller and his companion were betrayed

and, after the briefest of trials, were sentenced to two years hard labour at Port Arthur. After a few days on the treadmill the two proceeded in irons to Port Arthur, the most notorious labour camp of the colony, and were put to work hauling logs. Punishment for all offences was flogging and the lash was liberally applied. Miller survived to secure his pardon and landed back in Newcastle, Delaware, on January 25th 1846.

Heustis, Daniel D. *A narrative of the adventures and sufferings of Captain Daniel D. Heustis and his companions in Canada and Van Dieman's Land.* Boston: Published for Redding & Co. by Silas W. Wilder & Co., 1847.

This book appeared in two editions, Boston, 1847 and 1848. Heustis was captured at the Battle of Prescott and sent into exile on board the *Buffalo*. He makes several references to Wait's *Letters* and uses some of the descriptions of the island from that source. Heustis, as a ticket-of-leave man, was employed for a time in hunting two bush-rangers named Jeffs and Conway. "We were divided off into parties of six or seven, each man armed with a musket and five rounds of ammunition, which was all the government dared to allow us, lest we should use the means thus placed in our hands to regain our own liberty." After seventy-three days in the bush, sleeping in opossum skin robes, they heard that the bush-rangers had been captured by another party, which included Stephen Wright. His reward was a pardon, passage to England and $166.66. Jeffs and Conway were hanged.

Marsh, Robert. *Seven years of my life; or, Narrative of a patriot exile.* Buffalo: Faxon & Stevens, 1848.

All of the Exile Narratives are described as "rare" and one of the rarest also appeared in two editions published in Buffalo in 1847 and 1848: Robert Marsh's *Seven years of my life*, titled on its cover the *New book of martyrs*. Marsh provides considerable information concerning the hardships of the ticket-of-leave men in Van Diemen's Land. Although the ticket provided some freedom to move about it confined the prisoner to one district and application to change districts had to be made to a magistrate. If, as was often the case, no work for wages was available, the ticket-of-leave man was forced to live off the land, eating kangaroos and stealing flour and tea. The line between being an indigent semi-free prisoner and a bush-ranger was very fine and almost all escaped prisoners were re-captured. Martin Cash, who is often mentioned in the Exile Narratives, became a kind of folk hero and established the romantic image of the bush-ranger with an account of his life and adventures published in Hobart in 1870. His tale is unusual because he survived incarceration on both Van Diemen's Land and Norfolk Isand and died peacefully in 1877.

Prieur, François Xavier. *Notes d'un condamné politique de 1838.* Québec: Brousseau Frères, 1864. (*Les Soirées canadiennes*, 4^{m} année)

The last Exile Narrative to be published during the nineteenth century was the other French Canadian account. A deeply religious shopkeeper, Prieur was pressed into the service of L'Association des chasseurs as the "Castor" of his village and was captured easily. He says that he began his notes in 1838, continuing them until 1846, the year of his return to Canada. His account contains the usual details of his trial, sentence and transportation, including a very detailed description of the *Buffalo*, with a diagram of the deck on which the French Canadians were confined. At Longbottom, Prieur, after being given a ticket-of-leave, was employed making confectionery by a French merchant, as a gardener, and in the Canadian sawmill near Parramatta. He was forced by lack of funds to remain in Sydney for several months after his pardon had been granted but through the kindness of a French merchant he was able to get a passage to London and finally return to Quebec.

EAST READING ROOM: SETTLEMENT

After the periods of exploration of the coast and the interior and after it had ceased to be known primarily as a penal colony, Australia was widely promoted as a land of opportunity for settlers. Accounts of the experiences of travellers and settlers, emigrant's manuals, and promotional material poured from the presses in Australia and Great Britain. The agricultural promise of the country was obvious; its mineral wealth had received international publicity through the gold rush; and its new railways provided access to vast tracts of virgin land.

Case I: Gold Rush

Jameson, R. G. *Australia and her gold regions; a full description of its geology, climate, products, natives, agriculture, mineral resources, society, and principal cities ... the whole forming a complete guide-book to the gold mines.* New York: Cornish, Lamport & Co., 1852.

R. G. Jameson was in charge of the Australian Emigration Office in New York when he wrote this concise account of Australia to give the general reader geographical knowledge of the country as well as to inform and attract the prospective immigrant. Two editions of this book appeared in 1852, the year after gold was officially discovered. The map shows the gold region.

Clacy, Ellen. *A lady's visit to the gold diggings of Australia in 1852-53.* Written on the spot by Mrs. Charles Clacy. London: Hurst and Blackett, 1853.

Mrs. Clacy, a popular British novelist, travelled to Australia with her brother to see the gold fields. Her descriptive account with practical advice was written for "the many mothers, wives, and sisters in England, whose hearts are ever longing for information respecting the dangers and privations to which their relatives at the antipodes are exposed". "Bendigo Creek Sunset" shows a gold digging camp at Piccaninny Creek (or Bendigo Creek), Victoria, where a rich gold field was found.

Lang, John Dunmore. *The Australian emigrant's manual; or, A guide to the gold colonies of New South Wales and Port Phillip.* London: Partridge and Oakey, 1852.

Lang was prominent in the debate to end the system of transportation and particularly active in promoting emigration, sponsoring several parties himself and writing extensively on the subject. The discovery of gold he saw as a heaven-sent opportunity, for: "Australia will not only get population and political freedom from the discovery of gold in her territory, she will also get national independence." He presents practical advice to the would-be emigrant and responds aggressivey to criticism:

> There are certain mawkish sentimentalists in this country – certain people who pretend to be a great deal better than everybody else – who strongly encourage emigration to Australia, but who endeavour to pursuade [sic] the emigrant in a sort of whining tone by no means to go to the diggings, as if there were something morally wrong in going there! Now I should like to know where these wonderfully good people can find either reason or scripture for such advice. Are we not told in the word of God that the earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof?

Sherer, John. *The gold-finder of Australia; how he went, how he fared, and how he made his fortune.* London: Clarke, Beeton, & Co. [1853]

Originally issued in twenty-four parts, this book is a compilation of government reports, anecdotes, and lively engravings made from drawings by W. A. Nicholls who was at the gold fields. Written for the prospective emigrant, it gives details about all aspects of life in Australia.

Stirling, Patrick James. *The Australian and California gold discoveries and their probable consequences; or, An inquiry into the laws which determine the value and distribution of the precious metals, with historical notices of the effects of the American mines on European prices in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.* Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1853.

The gold rush of 1849 in California attracted hundreds of emigrants from Australia. In 1851 the gold rush in Australia brought some of the gold diggers back. The author shows, in epistolary form, the economic and social effects of the gold discoveries in Australia on all classes of society, especially in England.

Wathen, George Henry. *The golden colony; or, Victoria in 1854, with remarks on the geology of the Australian gold fields.* London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1855.

The author, better known as a writer of travel books on the antiquities of Europe, describes in detail with words and sketches the geography and geology of the gold fields in Victoria which he visited. The map or chart of Fryer's Creek which is seventy miles north north-west from Melbourne shows one of the gold hills noted in his book. "The gold-drift forms rounded hills flanking the main valleys ... These hills, which have scarcely been noticed in published accounts, are perhaps the most remarkable and interesting objects on the Victorian gold-fields."

Smyth, Robert Brough. *The gold fields and mineral districts of Victoria, with notes on the modes of occurrence of gold and other metals and minerals.* Melbourne: Printed and published by John Ferres, Government Printer, 1869.

Smyth, who emigrated to Australia in 1852, held various government posts including Secretary to the Board of Science, and Secretary of Mines. He also reorganized the geological survey. He prepared this lengthy treatise with its many illustrations and appendices for Australian miners following the plan of the *Memoirs* of the Geological Survey of Great Britain. It is the compilation of reports, maps, plans, surveys, statistics by government employees, mining companies, and individuals involved in mining – "descriptions and statements of the results of mining operations have been got from the best sources".

The frontispiece "Rush near Navarre" is based on a photograph by Richard Daintree, an English geologist who like Smyth emigrated to Australia in 1852. Navarre is located on the Wattle Creek about one hundred and fifty miles north-west of Melbourne.

Withers, William Bramwell. *The history of Ballarat from the first pastoral settlement to the present time.* 2d edition. Ballarat: Printed by F. W. Niven and Co., 1887.

First published in 1870, Withers's book gives a full account of the gold rush to Ballarat and the subsequent history of the town, of the Eureka stockade, and a description of various aspects of mining. Its many illustrations are based on original drawings.

Price, Julius Mendes. *The land of gold; the narrative of a journey through the West Australian goldfields in the autumn of 1895*. London: Sampson Low, Marston and Co., 1896.

Price was an English journalist who wrote a series of illustrated articles about the Australian gold rush for the *Illustrated London News*. This book is based on those articles and drawings, and its popularity was such that five editions were pubished in 1896.

Case II: Agriculture and Emigration

Haydon, George Henry. *Five years' experience in Australia Felix*. London: Hamilton, Adams, 1846.

Haydon's account of the area discovered by Mitchell in 1836 was an attempt to rescue the province's reputation from its widely reported bankruptcy due to land speculation. His object was to provide "authentic information", based on his own experience and to combat the 'emigrant puffs' which deceive "the poor, but respectable immigrant" and prevent him from becoming "a lazy shepherd, spending all his wages in ardent spirits." His promotion of Australia Felix, and its independence from New South Wales, presages the rivalry between Australian states – still a prominent feature of the political life of the country.

Sidney, Samuel. *The three colonies of Australia*. London: Ingram, Cooke, & Co., 1852.

Sidney's substantial book is, in fact, a kind of emigrant's manual. His purpose is stated directly: "In Australia it is the interest of the colonies and of this country that the rude men who crowd to the gold-diggings should be counterbalanced by an influx of well-disposed, educated, intelligent families, prepared to carry on colonization by cultivation ..." His work is divided into three parts: historical, descriptive, and practical and, in the third section, he dispenses much information concerning such matters as how to manage a sheep station and the mechanics of sheep rearing. Sidney's expressed hope that he would be able to revise this first edition was fulfilled as the book was published several times, including two American editions and a German translation.

Horne, Richard Hengist. *Australian facts and figures*. London: Smith, Elder, 1859.

Richard Hengist Horne (1803-1884), the author of the epic poem *Orion* (1843) and a well-known man-of-letters, emigrated to Australia in 1852 to try his waning fortunes in the goldfields. He became a commissioner of crown lands and a magistrate, remaining in Australia until 1869 when dissatisfaction with the Victorian government officials caused him to return to England. His *Australian facts* is better written than most emigrant narratives and contains at the beginning a very lively "Australian autobiography", with many amusing observations on digging for gold. Unfortunately it breaks off abruptly during the year 1854 with the comment: "Having left this sketch to the last as of least moment, the closing of the mail compels me to drop the pen."

This copy contains a presentation inscription to George Bentley (possibly the publisher) from "The Author's Editor."

Franklyn, H. Mortimer. *A glance at Australia in 1880*. Melbourne: Victorian Review Publishing Co., 1881.

Guides and directories were, of course, published extensively in Australia as well as in Great Britain. This elaborate example, complete with dozens of pages of commercial advertisements, was designed to demonstrate that Australia had commercially come of age. This copy contains a presentation inscription to the Bishop of Ottawa from a merchant in Ballarat.

The Railway guide of New South Wales. 3d edition. Sydney: C. Potter, 1886.

In 1850 construction was begun on the first railway in Australia, a line to run from Sydney to Goulburn. Despite financial difficulties which necessitated the government taking over the enterprise, the railway was built and before many years there were several lines all over the country. Until quite recently each state ran its railway on tracks of different gauges. By 1886 there was a demand for guides, such as this one, for the use of "tourists, excursionists and others". The scenic delights of the countryside, reproduced in the *Railway guide*, could be viewed from the relative comfort of the train.

Nicols, Arthur. *Wild life and adventure in the Australian bush; four years' personal experience.* London: R. Bentley, 1887.

Arthur Nicols spent four years on a station in Queensland and then wrote a fictional account of his experience for popular consumption. It was illustrated with plates after drawings by John T. Nettleship and published by Bentley. The pictorial covers, in which a selection of Australian animals and birds are brought together, are typical of Bentley books of the period. This set was presented by the publisher to the University of Toronto Library in 1890 to assist in repacing books lost in the fire of that year.

Willoughby, Howard. *Australian pictures drawn with pen and pencil.* London: Religious Tract Society, 1886.

Willoughby, a British journalist, emigrated to Melbourne in 1857 and became the first Australian war correspondent during the campaign in New Zealand against the Maoris. *Australian pictures* is lavishly illustrated.

Case I: Literature

Praed, Winthrop Mackworth. "Australasia; a poem which obtained the Chancellor's Medal at the Cambridge Commencement, July 1823" (contained in *Cambridge prize poems*. 4th edition, considerably enlarged. London: Printed for T. and J. Alman, 1828).

Praed, an English poet and writer, better known as a writer of humorous poetry than serious poetry, is often compared with Thomas Hood. This poem won for its author the Chancellor's Medal in 1823.

Hervey, Thomas Kibble. *Australia, with other poems*. London: Printed for Hurst, Robinson, 1824.

Hervey was an English poet, art critic, and editor of the *Athenaeum*. His best known work is *Australia*, an ode of sixty-four pages with twenty pages of notes. He presented this copy to his father, James Hervey.

Kendall, Henry. *Leaves from Australian forests*. Melbourne: George Robertson, 1870.

Kendall was one of the first poets of the colonial period to describe the Australian landscape in verse. He also depicted outback characters in some of his poems, thus anticipating A. B. Paterson and Henry Lawson. This is Kendall's second book which was first published in 1869. Although it received good reviews, only a few copies were sold. The remainder sheets were bound with a new title page dated 1870.

Gordon, Adam Lindsay. *Bush ballads and galloping rhymes*. Melbourne: Clarkson, Massina and Co., 1870.

Born in the Azores and educated in England, Gordon was sent by his parents to Australia in 1853 where he joined the mounted police. After two years' service he resigned, and worked as a livery stable keeper and jockey. His interest in horses is reflected in his poetry. The book exhibited is opened at "The romance of Britomarte," a ballad about a brave horse in Restoration England. The rhythms and images suggest the speed of a galloping horse. In 1934 his admirers had a bust of him placed in Westminister Abbey. He was the first Australian poet to be so honoured.

Boldrewood, Rolf. *Robbery under arms*. London: Remington, 1888.

> My name's Dick Marston, Sydney-side native. I'm twenty-nine years old, six feet in my stocking soles, and thirteen stone weight. Pretty strong and active with it, so they say. I don't want to blow – not here, any road – but it takes a good man to put me on my back, or stand up to me with the gloves, or the naked monkeys. I can ride anything – anything that ever was lapped in horse hide – swim like a musk-duck, and track like a Myall blackfellow.

What sounds like a publicity release for Crocodile Dundee is the opening paragraph of the best known bush-ranger novel, a genre popularized by Thomas Alexander Brown, whose pseudonym was Rolf Boldrewood.

Browne was born in England in 1826 but emigrated with his family as a child. He grew up in Sydney, became a squatter in the Western District of Victoria, owned property in the Riverina, and retired as a police magistrate in Albury. He died in 1915.

Robbery under arms is an adventure novel, a reminiscence told retrospectively by

Marston from his death cell. It is filled with violent episodes, stars a Byronic figure, and is extremely romantic. Its style is relaxed and idiomatic. In the end Marston is reprieved, serves a twelve-year sentence and emerges from gaol to find that his girl, whose name is Grace, is waiting for him. They move to Queensland to live happily ever after.

It was first published as a serial in *The Bulletin* in 1882, its three-decker form not appearing until 1888. Reprinted many times, the first edition of *Robbery under arms*, particularly in its original decorated binding, is a scarce book.

Rusden, George William. *Moyarra; an Australian legend in two cantos*, by Yittadairn. London: E. A. Petherick, 1891.

Rusden was born in England but emigrated to Australia in 1834. He was active in education, and a writer on Shakespeare, history, and native peoples. This poem, a narrative about two aboriginal lovers who died because they disobeyed tribal law, is his only poem. First published in Australia in 1851, this is the first English edition.

Hume, Fergus. *The mystery of a hansom cab*. London: Hansom Cab Pubishing Co. [188-]
Hume, Fergus. *The mystery of a hansom cab*. London: A. P. Marsden, 1893.

Fergus Hume (1859-1932) was born in England but raised in New Zealand. After training as a lawyer he moved to Melbourne and there wrote his first book, *The mystery of a hansom cab*, one of the most successful detective novels of all time. The first edition, of which only two copies survive, was published in Melbourne in 1886 and within three months twenty-five thousand copies had been sold. Hume then sold the rights to the book for fifty pounds to a group of speculators and they formed the Hansom Cab Publishing Company in London. This company and its successors re-issued the book with great frequency so that during Hume's lifetime well over half a million copies were printed.

All early editions of *The mystery of a hansom cab* are rare. The 175th thousand, exhibited here, is recorded in only five copies and the A. P. Marsden edition, which calls itself the 375th thousand is not recorded at all in the standard list of editions by Eric Sinclair Bell.

Hume moved to England in 1888 and a constant stream of detective novels flowed from his pen. He never, however, repeated the success of his first literary work.

Paterson, Andrew Barton. *The man from Snowy River and other verses*. Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1896.

Of the hundreds of thousands of people who have seen the movie *The Man from Snowy River*, probably few could recite the opening lines of this most famous of all bush ballads:

> There was movement at the station, for the word had passed around
> That the colt from old Regret had got away
> And had joined the wild bush horses – he was worth a thousand pound,
> So all the cracks had gathered to the fray.

"Banjo" Paterson, the chief of the mob of galloping rhymesters whose stylistic resemblances to Kipling were not accidental, was born near Molong in 1864. He was educated at the University of Sydney and practised as a solicitor until 1900. *The man from Snowy River* first appeared in book form in 1895, sold out in a fortnight, and ten thousand copies, in seven editions, were published within a year. It was one of the most successful books ever published in Australia.

Paterson, who, typically, took his nickname from a racehorse, lived until 1941. He published several other volumes of verse, including *Saltbush Bill, J. P.* in 1917, which contained "Waltzing Matilda".

This edition of *The man from Snowy River*, with a preface by Boldrewood, links the bush ballad to the bush-ranger novel through a conjunction of the two best known exponents of the genres.

Case II: Mainly Yellowbacks

Australia was a popular subject in English fiction as well as non-fiction in the 1870's and 1880's. This interest is reflected in the popular contemporary books known as yellowbacks or railway novels because of their distinctive colour and their easy availability at railway book stalls. The eyecatching covers and cheap price made them irresistible to the travelling public. Many of the novelists are little known today, but works by such significant authors as Charles Dickens, Henry Fielding and Victor Hugo were published in yellowbacks. The contemporary popular themes of adventure, history, mystery, and romantic love in an Australian setting are displayed in the books here. Australian writers represented are: Henry Lawson, Jim Bushman (Sayce), Gilbert Rock, George Dunderdale, Nathaniel Gould, Marcus Clarke, and John Lang.

Lawson, Henry. *While the billy boils*. First series. Melbourne: E. W. Cole, 1908.
Lawson, Henry. *While the billy boils*. Second series. Melbourne: E. W. Cole, 1905.

Lawson's *While the billy boils* is his first major collection of prose which was first published in 1896. The title was later used by his publisher as a series title for other collections of his short stories, published in a popular form, as in the voumes shown.

Lang, John. *Clever criminals; or, Recollections of Botany Bay*. London: Ward, Lock & Co. [1871?]
Russell, William Clark. *Round the galley fire*. A new edition. London: Chatto and Windus, 1885.
Gerstaecker, Friedrich Wilhelm Christian. *The two convicts*. London: George Routledge and Sons [1888?[
Rock, Gilbert. *The crime of the Golden Gully: an Australian romance*. London: Spencer Blackett, 1888.
Henty, George Alfred. *A final reckoning; a tale of bush life in Australia*. London: Blackie and Sons [189-]
Gould, Nathaniel. *The double event; a tale of the Melbourne Cup*. London: George Routledge and Sons [1891?]
Dunderdale, George. *Prairie and bush*. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1891.
Clarke, Marcus. *Chidiock Tichbourne; or, The Catholic conspiracy*. 2d edition. London: Eden, Remington, 1893.
Nisbet, Hume. *The bushranger's sweetheart; an Australian romance*. 3d edition. London: F. V. White & Co., 1893.
Nisbet, Hume. *Dr. Bernard St. Vincent*. A new edition. London: Chatto & Windus, 1893.
Nisbet, Hume. *A bush girl's romance; a novel*. 2d edition. London: F. V. White & Co., 1895.
Finnemore, John. *The lone patrol*. Toronto: Musson Book Co. [191-]
Sayce, Conrad Harvey. *In the Musgrave Ranges*, by Jim Bushman. London: Blackie & Son [1922]